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New York

President:	Mr. Koonjul	(Mauritius)
Members:	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	Cameroon	Mr. Belinga-Eboutou
	China	Mr. Shen Guofang
	Colombia	Mr. Valdivieso
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Guinea	Mr. Fall
	Ireland	Mr. Ryan
	Mexico	Mr. Navarrete
	Norway	Mr. Strømmen
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Singapore	Mr. Mahbubani
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Mekdad
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Eldon
	United States of America	Mr. Cunningham

Agenda

Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts.

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02-21928 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.05 a.m.

Expression of farewell to Mr. Jorge Navarrete, Permanent Representative of Mexico to the United Nations

The President: I have been informed that our respected colleague, Ambassador Jorge Navarrete, Permanent Representative of Mexico, is attending a Security Council meeting for the last time today before he leaves for a new assignment. On behalf of the members of the Security Council, I wish to extend our appreciation for his invaluable, albeit brief, contribution to the work of the Council. In bidding him a fond farewell, Council members and I wish him great success and fulfilment in his future endeavours.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bangladesh, Belarus, Brunei Darussalam, Canada, Costa Rica, India, Israel, Jamaica, Japan, Mongolia, Morocco, Nauru, Nepal, Pakistan, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Spain and Uzbekistan in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Chowdhury (Bangladesh), Mr. Ling (Belarus), Mr. Serbini (Brunei Darussalam), Mr. Heinbecker (Canada), Mr. Niehaus (Costa Rica), Mr. Sharma (India), Mr. Lancry (Israel), Miss Durrant (Jamaica), Mr. Motomura (Japan), Mr. Enkhsaikhan (Mongolia), Mr. Bennouna (Morocco), Mr. Clodumar (Nauru), Mr. Bhattarai (Nepal), Mr. Ahmad (Pakistan), Mr. Rivero (Peru), Mr. Stańczyk (Poland), Mr. Seixas da Costa (Portugal), Mr. Al-Nasser (Qatar), Mr. Arias (Spain) and Mr. Vohidov (Uzbekistan) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Sir Jeremy Greenstock, Chairman of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1373 (2001) concerning counter-terrorism.

It is so decided.

I invite Sir Jeremy Greenstock to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

At this meeting, the Council will hear a briefing by Sir Jeremy Greenstock, Chairman of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1373 (2001) concerning counter-terrorism.

I welcome the presence of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, and invite him to take the floor.

The Secretary-General: This meeting is essentially an opportunity for Member States to discuss the work of the Counter-Terrorism Committee established by resolution 1373 (2001). That means it is Sir Jeremy Greenstock's show rather than mine. Everyone is eager to hear him, I am sure, and I shall therefore confine myself to a few brief remarks.

First, I greatly welcome the energy and the spirit of cooperation with which Member States have reacted to the terrorist attacks of 11 September. The work of the Counter-Terrorism Committee and the cooperation it has received from Member States have been unprecedented and exemplary. I will not delay the Council by describing in detail the actions we in the Secretariat are taking in response, or the parallel work relating to international legal instruments, about which the Legal Counsel has briefed the Committee on many occasions. Let me simply mention here that we are currently using more than 25 per cent of our resources allocated to documentation to process the national reports submitted to the Committee by Member States, in order to facilitate the Committee's review of them. This is an unprecedented effort, which, I fear, cannot be sustained for long when those very same resources are being reduced by the General Assembly.

Through the work of this Committee, Member States are, for once, really using this Organization in the way its founders intended — as an instrument through which to forge a global defence against a global threat. I firmly hope to see the same spirit of unity and resolve manifested in the tackling of other global threats, ranging from weapons of mass destruction to HIV/AIDS or climate change.

Secondly, the Committee's work has already highlighted the close connection between terrorism and various other activities that the United Nations has been seeking to repress, or at least to bring under control. I am thinking particularly of organized crime and the illicit traffic in weapons, drugs and other commodities such as diamonds. We will surely deal more effectively with all these things if we act more coherently. That means we must ensure closer coordination between different United Nations bodies.

Thirdly, we should all be clear that there is no trade-off between effective action against terrorism and the protection of human rights. On the contrary, I believe that, in the long term, we shall find that human rights, along with democracy and social justice, are one of the best prophylactics against terrorism.

Terrorism is a weapon of alienated, desperate people, and often a product of despair. If human beings everywhere are given real hope of achieving self-respect and a decent life by peaceful methods, terrorists will become much, much harder to recruit and will receive far less sympathy and support from society at large.

Therefore, while we certainly need vigilance to prevent acts of terrorism, and firmness in condemning and punishing them, it will be self-defeating if we sacrifice other key priorities — such as human rights — in the process.

Of course, the protection of human rights is not primarily the responsibility of the Council — it belongs to other United Nations bodies, whose work the Council does not need to duplicate. But there is a need to take into account the expertise of those bodies and to make sure that the measures the Council adopts do not unduly curtail human rights or give others a pretext to do so.

Finally, many States lack the capacity to adopt effective counter-terrorist measures. They are in genuine need of technical and financial assistance if they are to fulfil their obligations.

This issue has been recognized from the beginning, and, in resolution 1377 (2001), the Council instructed the Counter-Terrorism Committee to explore assistance programmes and best practice. I know it has been doing so, and I hope that it will produce a precise inventory of needs in this area, on the basis of which the United Nations system and the Bretton Woods institutions can design specific projects.

In conclusion, let me repeat that the United Nations stands four-square against terrorism, no matter what end it purports to serve. Our urgent business, building on the excellent work of the Committee, must now be to develop a long-term strategy to enable all States to undertake the hard steps needed to defeat terrorism. I believe they can do so only when the global struggle against terrorism is seen as necessary and legitimate by their peoples and that such universal legitimacy is something that the United Nations can do much to confer.

The President: I shall now give the floor to Sir Jeremy Greenstock, Chairman of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1373 (2001) concerning counter-terrorism.

Sir Jeremy Greenstock: May I begin by warmly echoing your words of farewell and gratitude to Ambassador Jorge Navarrete, because we already know that he personally will be very much missed in the Council.

The month of your presidency, Sir, has focused very much on Africa, and I would like to take advantage of my position here today by saying two things in the African context. First, we need to note that in Sierra Leone, the civil war has been declared ended, and the Council should recognize the enormous amount of work done by the United Nations to bring that about. I would like the Secretary-General to know how much we appreciate the work of the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone and others in this effort. Secondly, we express words of sympathy and condolence to the people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, particularly of Goma, in their further sufferings as a result of the volcano that has erupted.

We warmly thank you, Mr. President, for bringing this debate together. It is very important that we should have an open debate on this subject, and I very much

appreciate the presence of the Secretary-General here. I hope that participants will focus not on their own national counter-terrorism programmes or on their individual reports, but on the generic and political issues which we are addressing on this subject.

The attacks of 11 September 2001 horrified the world. We at the United Nations watched the events at close quarters. We lived side by side with the people of this city as they grappled with the task of overcoming the unprecedented scale of the attack. By any criterion, they have succeeded. New York has shown that terrorism, on whatever scale, does not damage a vibrant, democratic society.

The Security Council reacted strongly and quickly to the threat which international terrorism in its latest form poses to international peace and security. The Council recognized that global action was needed to prevent the spread of terrorist networks and cut off all support for them. Its response was ambitious but right.

Governments were already familiar with what needed to be done, but few had done it. Resolution 1373 (2001) drew on the language negotiated by all United Nations Members in the 12 conventions against terrorism, but also delivered a strong operational message: get going on effective measures now. The General Assembly continued its work throughout the autumn in the form of negotiations on an overarching Comprehensive Convention on Terrorism and a convention on nuclear terrorism. These efforts must be brought to completion.

Resolution 1373 (2001) imposes binding obligations on all States to suppress and prevent terrorism, and the Counter-Terrorism Committee's function is to monitor the implementation of the measures imposed. The members of the Committee have decided to be proactive, cooperative and even-handed in this task. Our aim is to raise the average level of Government performance against terrorism around the globe. This means upgrading the capacity of each nation's legislation and executive machinery to fight terrorism. Every Government holds a responsibility for ensuring that there is no weak part of the chain. This is a cardinal element of the process that resolution 1373 (2001) has instituted. We must do this together, and everyone has a contribution to make.

I welcome the constructive cooperation which Governments and colleagues have shown with the Counter-Terrorism Committee and their respect for this common goal. A critical part of the effort will be building cooperation, internationally and at the regional level; exchanging information about terrorism; and sharing as widely as possible expertise and assistance on counter-terrorism.

Here I should also mention, as the Secretary-General has done, resolution 1377 (2001), adopted at last November's ministerial-level Council meeting. That declaration instructed the Counter-Terrorism Committee to explore assistance programmes and best practices to help States fulfil their obligations. The Committee has begun to do so. We have invited States and international and regional organizations to contribute to a directory of available assistance — a "one-stop shop" for those looking for expertise and help. I have also written to the Secretary-General to ask him to consider establishing a United Nations trust fund, because the Committee believes that new contributions are needed to finance this essential work.

Our programme for the first 90-day period set out our activities for getting going in the first three months. The second 90-day work programme, released this week, outlines our plans for the next three months. Council members will find the documents before them.

In its first 90 days, the Committee issued guidance to States on the submission of reports. It published a directory of contact points to promote international cooperation. A pool of independent experts was selected to advise the Committee, and I welcome their arrival here in New York. We made contact with a range of organizations active in the areas of counter-terrorism, including potential providers of assistance.

The Counter-Terrorism Committee has established the practice of acting with maximum transparency. I have briefed the membership of the United Nations on nine occasions since the Committee began operations, and I have met several times with regional groups. As far as possible, given the sensitive nature of counter-terrorism work, we have made our documents publicly available. We have maintained an up-to-date and comprehensive web site.

To date, 123 States have submitted reports to the Committee. This is a welcome response which demonstrates the excellent cooperation we have received. However, there remain some that have not submitted a report. I ask Council members to

encourage their Governments to do so soon, because their action will be of direct benefit to the international community as well as to themselves as we pursue our shared goal.

As we enter the second period, the Committee's focus is turning to processing the first set of reports. We have set up three subcommittees to expedite our work. We anticipate that by 28 February, one third of the reports will have been reviewed; by the end of the second 90-day period, at the end of March, two thirds. We will have completed the task by the end of April. This is a huge burden, not just on the Committee but also on our excellent independent experts and on our hard-pressed Secretariat. I thank them all for their willingness to throw themselves into this exceptional task.

Furthermore, in the light of what the Secretary-General has just said, I would like to say a special word of thanks and praise to our Translation Service, which has taken on a huge extra burden given the voluminous material that Member States have presented. I hope that the Council will forgive me if I also say a special word of commendation to my own expert, Anna Clunes, who has been at the heart of establishing the work of the Committee and to whom we all owe a great deal.

What can Governments expect from the review process? In response to each report, the Counter-Terrorism Committee will write, in confidence, to the Government concerned offering its comments. This may be a request for more information or for clarification. It may outline areas in which the Committee believes that legislation or further executive measures are needed to upgrade that State's capacity against terrorism in line with resolution 1373 (2001). We will also, if appropriate, identify for the State concerned possible sources of expertise or assistance in programmes of relevance. Do not expect us to declare any Member State compliant. Our exchanges with virtually all Member States will stretch out into the future.

I have said what the Counter-Terrorism Committee is and what our aims are for the next period. I should also set out what the Counter-Terrorism Committee is not. It is not a tribunal for judging States. It will not trespass onto areas of competence of other parts of the United Nations system. It is not going to define terrorism in a legal sense, although we will have a fair idea of what is blatant terrorism; where necessary, we will decide by consensus whether an act is terrorism. The Committee has no plans to issue lists of terrorist organizations. If it cannot settle issues of political controversy, it will submit them back to the Security Council.

Let me here say a word in my national capacity about these political aspects. In taking a consensual approach, the Counter-Terrorism Committee is not ducking its responsibilities. Our job is to work with Member States, to make the counter-terrorism effort a truly global one and to clarify how best they can meet the obligations that rest on their shoulders. But the Counter-Terrorism Committee's processes will put pressure on Governments to ensure, in the decisions they take — both political and administrative — that they do not condone acts of indiscriminate violence against civilians in any political context. We have to develop an international collective conscience in this respect in which every Government, without exception, is a participant.

Speaking again as Chairman, the Counter-Terrorism Committee is mandated to monitor the implementation of resolution 1373 (2001). Monitoring performance against other international conventions, including human rights law, is outside the scope of the Counter-Terrorism Committee's mandate. But we will remain aware of the interaction with human rights concerns, and we will keep ourselves briefed as appropriate. It is, of course, open to other organizations to study States' reports and take up their content in other forums. Speaking for the United Kingdom, and recalling what the Secretary-General has just said to us, I would encourage them to do so.

May I thank the Council for placing confidence in me to establish the Committee as a working organism. I should like to conclude by paying a warm tribute to my Vice-Chairmen, the Permanent Representatives of Colombia, Mauritius and the Russian Federation, and to all members of the Committee for their support and for their hard work. We could not otherwise have achieved what we have done since 4 October.

The President: I thank Sir Jeremy Greenstock for his very comprehensive briefing and for his kind words addressed to me as one of his Vice-Chairmen.

As agreed in informal consultations, I intend to give the floor alternately to three members of the Council and three non-Council members, and then request the Chairman of the Counter-Terrorism

Committee to reply to the questions after every six speakers. Of course, if there are no questions we will proceed with the list of speakers. Furthermore, in view of the long list speakers, I would urge all speakers to limit their interventions to five to seven minutes. I know I can count on their understanding and cooperation.

Mr. Cunningham (United States of America): I want to thank you, Mr. President, and Ambassador Greenstock, for taking the initiative to schedule this discussion. I also want to join in commending the work of our friend and colleague Jorge Navarrete, and to wish him well.

It is certainly right to meet today to take stock of our counter-terrorism efforts, and I want to commend Ambassador Greenstock for his leadership and organization of the work of the Counter-Terrorism Committee. The Committee has been exemplary in the pace and seriousness of its work, and innovative in maintaining close touch with the United Nations membership as a whole. Ambassador Greenstock's briefing today demonstrates clearly that it will continue to be so as it enters the next phase of its important work of examining national reports. I also agree with his comments about the goal of seeking consensus while at the same time not condoning that which is not acceptable. Our goal throughout should be to build and maintain the strongest consensus possible.

The events of 11 September changed the way all of us look at, and respond to, terrorism. The work of the Counter-Terrorism Committee is an important element of strengthening international cooperation and encouraging stronger efforts by each nation. Resolution 1373 (2001) set the standard that terrorism is unacceptable and illegal, and is to be opposed. Nothing could be clearer. All States now have the legal, as well as political and moral, obligation to act against it. This scourge, as we have recognized, threatens all nations, all peoples and, indeed, each individual. The requirement to address terrorism is operational now, and the United States is working hard to see that it is met.

I noted the Secretary-General's insightful comments about not losing sight of the other important issues on the international agenda — and we agree — as well as his comments about the connection between the struggle against terrorism and human rights. Those are both very important points to keep in mind. I also note the global, social, political and economic impact of the 11 September attack, and how they undermine that very fabric and that agenda. We will be living with that for some time.

The struggle against terror must be won if we are to make progress together in building the more prosperous, tolerant, secure and democratic world that the vast majority of the world's people aspire to. This is the world foreseen in the United Nations Charter and the Millennium Declaration. To achieve that victory will take time. We must also be clear about the threat and the response. There are numerous means for attacking it, but it will simply no longer do to justify terrorism.

As is often the case when the United Nations membership has difficulty in finding the way ahead, our Secretary-General has helped define the issue. He told us last year, on 1 October, that there is a need for moral clarity and that there can be no acceptance of those who would seek to justify the deliberate taking of innocent civilian life, regardless of cause or grievance. If there is one universal principle that all peoples can agree on, he said, surely it is this. He was right; and the United Nations membership should conclude at once the comprehensive convention against terrorism on the basis of the compromise proposed by Australia.

After 11 September inadequate counter-terrorism programmes and infrastructures cannot be tolerated. Resolution 1373 (2001) addresses this head-on. The United States has been gratified by the roll-up-your-sleeves spirit of the Counter-Terrorism Committee members, and of United Nations members more broadly. We are all attacking the difficult, but essential, job of analysing our anti-terrorism capabilities and identifying areas for improvement. The task is also best done collectively, and it is being undertaken that way. No country can afford to be complacent.

We recognize that some countries will need material and technical assistance. The United States offers a broad range of counter-terrorism assistance programmes in a number of areas. Topics include money-laundering and financial crimes, customs, immigration, extradition, police science and law enforcement, and illegal arms trafficking. The programmes are set forth in detail in our submission to the Committee.

We hope other Governments have reported, or will report soon, to the Counter-Terrorism Committee

on the assistance they are able to provide. Many States need such help in implementing resolution 1373 (2001). Today I want to stress that we are eager to be helpful, and we suggest that using regional organizations in this effort may help stretch scarce assistance resources. Even in so important an area as counter-terrorism, there is never enough money.

Let me close by reiterating how encouraged we are by the work so far of the Committee. We must not lose sight of the utmost urgency of our collective effort or lapse into a business-as-usual approach.

Mr. Levitte (France) (*spoke in French*): I would first like to associate myself with the warm tribute that you, Sir, paid to our friend Ambassador Jorge Navarrete and with the good wishes you expressed to him. I would also like to thank the Secretary-General for his presence and for having framed so well the exercise that we are now undertaking.

France fully associates itself with the statement that the Ambassador of Spain will make later in this discussion on behalf of the 15 members of the European Union. I wish nonetheless to make a few comments before the Council in my national capacity on the implementation of Security Council resolution 1373 (2001), to which France attaches great importance.

The horror and magnitude of the terrorist attacks that took place last 11 September in the United States have had a lasting and deep effect on the life and the action of the international community. By its quick and resolute action, the United Nations managed to meet this historic occasion. It emerges greater, stronger and more united from this ordeal. From the outset, the United Nations took a long-term approach to its action against international terrorist acts, while taking into consideration the global and multifaceted aspect of this scourge.

Through resolution 1373 (2001) of 28 September, one of the most important resolutions in its history, our Council has committed itself resolutely to contribute to preventing acts such as those of 11 September that threaten international peace and security. To this end, it has not hesitated to set out on an ambitious new path that from now on commits all Member States of our Organization to act. It is essential for everyone to participate in the struggle against acts of international terrorism if we are to progressively eliminate this scourge.

The role of the Counter-Terrorism Committee in following up on the implementation of resolution 1373 (2001) is fundamental. It is a clear signal of the will of the Security Council to put its action against terrorism in a long-term perspective. It also responds to the concerns of the Council to involve each and every one of us in this fight.

The Counter-Terrorism Committee was not created to punish States, but, on the contrary, to cooperate with them and, whenever necessary, to assist them in developing national, legislative and administrative means to enable them to fight terrorism more effectively. Its work is characterized by complete transparency, and its dynamic Chairman — Ambassador Jeremy Greenstock, to whom I would like to pay particular tribute — has spared no effort to make it so.

As he has told us, more than 120 States have sent the Counter-Terrorism Committee a national report on the implementation of resolution 1373 (2001). This is a remarkable success, but it is not yet enough. States that have not yet done so should send in their reports as soon as possible.

A review of the national reports by the Counter-Terrorism Committee, with the help of the independent experts whom it has recruited, will make possible a useful inventory of the national means that are in place, but also to better identify the assistance needs of States that are willing to combat terrorism but do not always have the capacity.

As far as France is concerned, whether in its national capacity or working with its European Union partners and those of la Francophonie, it is determined to contribute, in this area, every possible assistance to States that might need it.

Mr. Mekdad (Syrian Arab Republic) (*spoke in Arabic*): Mr. President, permit me to express at the outset my appreciation for the efforts you have made to hold this meeting on measures taken by the Security Council to combat international terrorism within the framework of implementing resolution 1373 (2001) and for making our deliberations a success. Allow me also to express our sincere appreciation for the presence of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, at this open and important meeting of the Security Council.

I would also like to express our sadness upon learning of the departure of Ambassador Jorge Navarrete, because this is a great loss for us all. I am pleased to express our sincere hopes for his success in his future endeavours at the next stage of his career.

Permit us also to express our gratitude and sincere thanks for the tireless efforts made by Sir Jeremy Greenstock, the Chairman of the Counter-Terrorism Committee, to implement the provisions of the resolution.

My delegation is pleased to join its voice to the statement that will later be made by the Permanent Representative of the sister State of Morocco before the Council on behalf of the League of Arab States.

My country attaches great importance to the discussion of terrorism, whose great impact on security and peace in the world makes it a very pressing matter. We must never forget the tragic events of 11 September, and we wish again to express our strong condemnation of the brutal crime that claimed many innocent civilians in New York, Washington, D.C., and Pennsylvania. Because it targeted innocent civilians, it violated the fundamental right to live in security and peace and contradicted the religious, spiritual and humanitarian values that we all believe in.

The Member States of the United Nations know that Syria's fight against terrorism did not start with the events of 11 September. We trust that all countries will recall that Syria was the first country to submit specific proposals to the General Assembly, through its Ad Hoc Committee on Terrorism, in a serious effort to put an end to the threat of terrorism.

In 1986, the late President Hafez al-Assad called for an international conference in which Member States would participate in a discussion of terrorism, to define it and distinguish it from the just struggle of people to free themselves from foreign occupation. Member States of the Non-Aligned Movement supported this Syrian call, as did the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the League of Arab States. Many other countries of the world were sympathetic to this invitation as well.

The validity of the Syrian proposal is reflected in the fact that many prominent individuals, including writers and politicians, are calling upon the United Nations and the international community at large to do what Syria called upon them to do several years ago: to formulate a definition of terrorism in order to mobilize all States in effectively combating terrorism.

The President of the Syrian Arab Republic, Mr. Bashar Al-Assad, has unequivocally stated Syria's denunciation of terrorist acts. He has indicated that Syria has long held that position and that Syrian policy on this matter has been unchanged for decades. President Al-Assad has taken note of the confusion regarding use of that term throughout the world, and has said that it is natural for States to differ in their views and concepts, but that all States must agree on an understanding of the facts as they are and on the universal use of consistent criteria in addressing this situation. President Al-Assad has also said that it is necessary to analyse the causes and reasons of the increasing spread of terrorist acts throughout the world rather than approaching the issue from the standpoint of the results to which these have led.

Syria has always stressed the importance of working at all levels to combat international terrorism and of doing so in a manner consistent with the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter. Syria has signed agreements with many other States to combat transnational crime, with a view to coordinating joint action against terrorism, illicit drug trafficking and money-laundering. The relevant authorities are now engaged in the legal procedures necessary for the signature of remaining United Nations anti-terrorism conventions. Syria is a party to the Arab Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism, and made an effective contribution to the adoption of the Convention of the Organization of the Islamic Conference on Combating International Terrorism.

Nowadays, there are some who, unfortunately, choose to criticize and cast doubt on United Nations achievements in the elimination and ending of colonialism. But it goes further than that: there are those who deliberately disregard the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations. We reaffirm here that foreign occupation is the most brutal form of terrorism; therefore, resistance to foreign occupation — especially Israeli occupation of Arab territories in Palestine, the Syrian Golan and southern Lebanon — constitutes legitimate struggle. Here, Arab Ministers for Foreign Affairs, at their special meeting held at Cairo on 20 December 2001, stated that

> "Israel's attempt to link its assassinations and oppression aimed against the Palestinian

people to the events of 11 September is a flagrant attempt to hoodwink international public opinion, to cloak Israeli acts of terrorism, to promote and deepen the hatred between Arabs and the United States, and to undermine the peace process."

The crimes committed daily by Israel against the Palestinian people are war crimes; their perpetrators must be brought to justice. Here, we must recall the sight of dozens of Palestinian houses demolished by Israeli tanks a few days ago in the Rafah camp. That is not very different from the scene at the World Trade Center, which was destroyed by the terrorists whom we have all agreed here to fight and eliminate.

If those Israeli crimes are not terrorism, what else can they be? The greatest danger we face in our fight against terrorism is the Israeli interpretation of combating terrorism and of resolutions of international legitimacy, which is based on a pretext of self-defence. What kind of self-defence is this which permits occupation, settlements, killing and destruction? It is regrettable that the Security Council, which has a Charter responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and which today is deliberating the fight against international terrorism, has not yet denounced Israeli State terrorism or repeated Israeli violations of international humanitarian law and of the United Nations Charter. We all know the reason for that silence.

Seeing with one eye means seeing only half of the truth. Terrorism, wherever it may be, must be dealt with in a unified way. The reason for everything taking place in the Middle East is the continued Israeli occupation of Arab territories and Israel's denial of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. A just and comprehensive peace in the region must be based on the implementation of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and on the principle of land for peace. These must be the first steps towards bringing peace and security to all in the region. Threats of force against any Arab or Islamic country are unacceptable; we reject them; they do not serve the goal of combating terrorism. They make the situation in the area more complicated and more volatile and have a negative impact on economic and social development in that very important region, a region that needs genuine support from the international community.

Syria calls for more effective international cooperation within the framework of the United Nations to put an end to terrorism, as an important and necessary step towards putting an end to the ongoing threat. On that basis, Syria has been in the forefront of States that have responded to resolution 1373 (2001) by submitting reports pursuant to paragraph 6 of that resolution. Since the resolution did not define terrorism, Syria has based its report on its obligations under the 1998 Arab Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism, which clearly distinguished between terrorism and legitimate struggle against foreign occupation. That is consistent with international anti-terrorism agreements to which Syria is a party and with Security Council resolution 1333 (2000).

In its report, Syria stresses its condemnation of terrorism in all its forms, along with its commitment to international legitimacy. It states its readiness to cooperate with the United Nations in combating terrorism in conformity with the United Nations Charter, with international legitimacy and with the fundamental principle of national sovereignty. The Security Council's Counter-Terrorism Committee has adopted many detailed measures pursuant to the provisions of resolution 1373 (2001), including guidelines for States on the preparation of their reports under paragraph 6 of that resolution. Here, Syria, as a member of the Committee, will cooperate with other members in discussing the reports submitted by States with the greatest possible sense of responsibility, integrity and impartiality and in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter and international law.

In many briefings and statements to the press, Ambassador Greenstock, as Chairman of the Counter-Terrorism Committee, has affirmed that the purpose of the Committee can be summed up as promoting and supporting the activities of Member States in the fight against terrorism and as providing the necessary material and technical support and advice to countries that need this to formulate their own anti-terrorism legislation and measures. The purpose of the Committee is not to level accusations at States, individuals or institutions on specific issues or to adopt rulings against them. Syria fully agrees with Ambassador Greenstock's vision, and affirms that it will cooperate with him and with the other States members of the Counter-Terrorism Committee and of the United Nations on the basis of that understanding.

The President: I thank the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic for his kind words addressed to me.

I will now give the floor to three non-Council members. The first speaker on the list is the representative of Costa Rica. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and make his statement.

Mr. Niehaus (Costa Rica) (*spoke in Spanish*): I have the honour to deliver this statement on behalf of the member States of the Rio Group in my capacity in the pro tempore secretariat.

First, Mr. President, allow me to congratulate you, and through you, the Republic of Mauritius, on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for the month of January. I would also like to congratulate the representatives of Bulgaria, Cameroon, Guinea, Mexico and Syria for their recent accession to this organ. Together with the other members of the Council, they now have the responsibility to represent the interests and will of the rest of the Members of the Organization in order to make the Council a more effective, transparent and democratic organ.

The Rio Group most categorically condemns terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, wherever and by whomever committed. We acknowledge that terrorism victimizes the innocent civilian population as a whole and that it threatens the entire international society. We believe that there is no political, philosophical, racial, ethnic or religious justification for this crime. Therefore, we condemn the perpetration and financing of all terrorist acts, and we express our deepest censure of the despicable acts of 11 September.

The Rio Group endorses the content of Security Council resolution 1373 (2001). It constitutes a firm, necessary and innovative response to the extremely grave criminal acts of 11 September, aimed at re establishing international security in accordance with the Council's own sphere of competence. For this reason, we reiterate our unwavering commitment to continue combating terrorism in conformity with that resolution.

Our efforts to eradicate this scourge require an authentic exercise of universal cooperation in order to defend the basic principles of human coexistence and to ensure peace, security and development for all mankind. As this crime is a transnational phenomenon, only multilateral action can counter it successfully. The Rio Group is ready to participate in all multilateral forums supporting all initiatives necessary to combat terrorism, reaffirming in this way the basic values of peaceful coexistence of all nations, peoples and persons.

Respect for human rights and democracy in all spheres constitutes the best line of defence against terrorism. The struggle against this scourge should not become an excuse to disregard fundamental rights. On the contrary, it should be a reason to reaffirm them. True and sustainable peace springs from mutual respect, dialogue and the rejection of violence.

The members of the Rio Group are well aware that political repression, extreme poverty and the violation of human rights feed extremism and terrorism. The multilateral strategy against terrorism must tackle the problems of extreme poverty, hunger, destitution, illness and the lack of housing and education. A holistic strategy, that ensures respect for human dignity in all fields and in conformity with the commitments enshrined in the Millennium Declaration, is required.

We are confident that the current emphasis on the fight against terrorism will neither stop the programmes for the eradication of poverty nor consume the meagre resources devoted to the promotion of human rights and economic and social development. It is necessary to conceptualize the struggle against this scourge within the broader context of the entire international agenda.

We believe that the fight against international terrorism should not lend itself to fuelling ethnic hatreds or promoting discord among the different religions and civilizations. We are convinced that the fight against this crime should guide us to build more open and tolerant societies, based on a true culture of peace and life.

The Rio Group acknowledges that in order to prevent terrorism, it is necessary to create institutional and police procedures that protect the public effectively, without prejudice, to the full respect for the international commitments in the area of human rights. Special attention should be given to the dangerous relationship between the international drug trafficking networks and the terrorist groups, as well as to the illicit trafficking in arms. We believe that an integral strategy against this scourge should include the

eradication of drug trafficking and money-laundering. Such a strategy should also prevent the transfer of weapons to all extremist and rebel groups and to the Governments that support them.

The fight against terrorism requires strengthening and broadening international cooperation in all fields. In particular, it is necessary to increase the transfer of technology, bilateral cooperation in the area of training, and financial assistance to all those countries that require it.

Last November, pursuant to resolution 1373 (2001), the Rio Group convened a meeting of legal experts in Santiago, Chile, to consider the prevention and suppression of terrorist acts, as well as the implementation of the Security Council's decisions in this matter. The document of conclusions, which I have requested be distributed as an official document of the Council, condemns the acts of terrorism, warns of the challenge that terrorism poses to existing juridical structures, and emphasizes that the combat against terrorism should be carried out within the framework of the rule of law, international law and human rights.

At that meeting, a fruitful exchange of opinions on the legislation existing in each member State was held, and it was seen that the members of the Rio Group have created adequate mechanisms to implement the provisions of resolution 1373 (2001). The document of conclusions reflects the firm intention of Rio Group members to ratify those international treaties on terrorism adopted within the United Nations system that they have not yet ratified.

The Rio Group experts noted that it is necessary to make greater efforts in the struggle against terrorism. They indicated that it is necessary to strengthen the mechanisms of judicial cooperation and extradition, to make progress in the legal definition of terrorist conduct and in assigning penalties commensurate to the seriousness of those acts, and to develop mechanisms to prevent and suppress terrorist financing activities. The experts recommended expediting the work on the new inter-American convention on terrorism that is being drafted within the framework of the Organization of American States (OAS), as well as creating an information system to compile laws and administrative regulations on this matter.

At the same time, within the framework of the OAS, the Inter-American Committee on Terrorism seeks to bolster regional cooperation with the view to prevent, combat and eradicate terrorist acts and activities through the direct exchange of information among the competent national authorities.

Resolution 1373 (2001) has opened new lines of communication between the Security Council and the Member States of the Organization. The unprecedented response to the request for national reports included in that resolution should be noted. The member States of the Rio Group have endeavoured to fulfil that request, as is evidenced by the various reports presented. We believe that the consideration of these reports should become an opportunity for constructive dialogue in which areas for possible improvement are suggested.

I should like to conclude by expressing the Rio Group's gratitude to the Chairman of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1373 (2001), Ambassador Jeremy Greenstock, and to his Vice-Chairmen for their excellent work and leadership, and for their ongoing work of engaging in dialogue with and providing information to the other Member States of this Organization.

The President: I thank the representative of Costa Rica for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Spain. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Arias (Spain) (*spoke in Spanish*): As this is my first statement to the Council this year, I would like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency and to extend my congratulations to the representatives of the new members of the Council: Bulgaria, Cameroon, Guinea, Mexico and the Syrian Arab Republic. While mentioning a great country, Mexico, I would also like to mention a great ambassador, Ambassador Jorge Navarrete, to whom I send my warmest greetings. His professional qualities, tact and gentlemanliness will be recalled with feelings of respect and fondness by us all.

I have the honour of speaking on behalf of the European Union. The following countries also support this statement: Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Cyprus and Malta.

The attack carried out against the United States on 11 September last and the events of these past months demonstrate that the capacity of terrorist

groups to act on the international scene is growing. But the international community has reacted by making the prevention and the elimination of terrorism one of its priorities.

The United Nations has acted quickly and effectively against this new threat. It could not have been otherwise. Terrorism respects no borders, and States cannot react in an isolated manner to this phenomenon, which is one of the main threats to peace in the twenty-first century.

Security Council resolution 1373 (2001) is of historic significance. It establishes for the first time a series of binding measures to be applied by all States in combating terrorism, setting a deadline for each of them to provide information about provisions adopted in compliance with that resolution.

The Counter-Terrorism Committee provides the Security Council with a follow-up mechanism for the implementation of the resolution, thus ensuring effectiveness and continuity in international action in this field. Its task is of crucial importance. In order to facilitate it, all Member States of the United Nations should give their unqualified support to the Committee. The European Union wishes to congratulate the Committee on the quality, firmness and transparency displayed so far in carrying out its work and offers its full cooperation as it continues to do so in the future.

The European Union welcomes the fact that a significant number of countries have already sent their country reports to the Committee and encourages those that have not yet responded to do so immediately. It is important that these reports provide clear answers to the questions outlined in the guidelines provided by the Committee for the preparation of the reports.

Some Member States may need technical assistance in order to fulfil all their obligations under resolution 1373 (2001). The need for such assistance was underscored in Security Council resolution 1377 (2001). The European Union is already providing such assistance to a large number of countries in areas such as capacity-building for law enforcement, strengthening the judiciary, border management and combating economic crimes and money-laundering. We look forward to identifying other countries and other specific areas where assistance may be needed. It is important in this regard for interested countries and regions to be able to identify their needs. The European Union is also prepared to cooperate with the Committee in order to provide assistance to those countries. The Committee could be extremely useful in identifying the needs of individual countries, given its role as a clearing house for technical assistance information.

The European Union is committed to making the struggle against terrorism a key feature of its external relations. The European Union cannot remain indifferent if some States do not comply with the obligations established by resolution 1373 (2001). The importance that the Union attaches to combating terrorism will naturally be reflected in its relations with those States, including in the context of current agreements with them.

The adoption of that resolution was possible thanks to a strong spirit of consensus. This spirit must be maintained and strengthened in order to ensure its full implementation. The international coalition against terrorism must include us all, since the enemy is also common to us all. Relevant international organisations, including especially the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the Financial Action Task Force, should also be involved in the struggle against terrorism and should coordinate their efforts with those of the United Nations as a whole. And, while it is essential that each country make the necessary effort to abide by the resolution, it is also indispensable that a similar effort be made in the framework of regional cooperation.

In the case of the European Union, this has led to very intensive activity in all aspects of the fight against terrorism. The Union and its member States have moved decisively to take specific measures against the terrorist threat. In fact, the impact of the 11 September crisis has been a catalyst for improving the efficiency of the struggle against terrorism within the framework of a European Union area of freedom, security and justice.

The Union and its member States acted swiftly to implement resolution 1373 (2001). In addition to the reports submitted by member States, the Union has submitted its own report to the Committee. The measures adopted in compliance with the resolution are set out in detail. However, even before the adoption of resolution 1371 (2001), an extraordinary meeting of the European Council had adopted an Action Plan comprising 68 measures, structured as a road map.

A complete listing of the specific actions carried out by the Union would be too extensive. However, it is necessary to mention the European arrest warrant, the purpose of which is to ensure that arrest warrants issued by a judge in a member State are valid in the entire territory of the Union, thus replacing the present extradition system; and the Framework Decision on combating terrorism, which includes a common definition of several types of terrorist acts and provides for the imposition of severe punishments for the perpetrators. We should also mention the creation of joint investigation task forces, the adoption of a regulatory framework that for the first time provides a legal basis for a European Union-wide sanctions system to freeze assets of terrorist individuals and entities, including the drawing up of a common list of terrorist organizations, the use to the greatest extent possible of the potential in this field of EUROJUST and EUROPOL and the approval of a protocol to the Convention on Mutual Assistance in Criminal Matters, which will have special importance in fighting money laundering and financial crimes.

As far as police cooperation is concerned, apart from the development of EUROPOL, several other measures are being considered. These include the creation of a European border police, mechanisms that offer greater security in the granting of visas, more efficient control of the external borders and an increase in automatic mechanisms for the exchange of information.

A review of European Union instruments in the field of asylum is also being conducted. Moreover, existing sanctions instruments have been revised to target the Al Qaeda network in particular.

The European Council of Laecken, held last December, noted that the Action Plan is being implemented according to schedule. Achieving its goals is one of the priorities of the current presidency. In that same European Council, the European Union heads of State and Government reaffirmed their solidarity with the people of the United States and the international community in the fight against terrorism. This fight has to be conducted within full respect for individual rights and freedoms, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. The Union has already adopted legislation containing this type of safeguards.

Discussions in the Sixth Committee on the draft comprehensive convention on international terrorism have gained great momentum in the General Assembly. Many obstacles that seemed insurmountable have now been overcome, and the issues that remain to be agreed are very few. The European Union is ready to accept the last proposal submitted by the Australian coordinator. In line with the spirit of consensus that made the adoption of resolution 1373 (2001) possible, the Union expects this convention to be adopted soon. We strongly believe that only a text that would not be paralysed by endless discussions of a more political and legal nature could serve as an operational, effective instrument against terrorism.

Negotiations on the international convention for the suppression of acts of nuclear terrorism could be concluded as soon as agreement is reached on the comprehensive convention, because the obstacles are of the same nature. It is absolutely necessary that all States ratify, without delay, all international and regional conventions related to the fight against terrorism and implement all their provisions.

To this end, the European Union has requested the Vienna-based International Centre for the Prevention of Crime, mandated with providing technical assistance in the field of terrorism prevention, to develop a project on ways and means of assisting United Nations member States with the implementation of the 12 anti-terrorism Conventions negotiated within the framework of the United Nations. The issue of technical assistance in the implementation process of the existing legal instruments against terrorism has also been dealt with by the Vienna Action Plan. The activities of the Vienna-based United Nations institutions mandated with anti-terrorism activities should complement United Nations system-wide efforts and explore possible synergies.

In conclusion, I would like to say that the European Union is, first and foremost, a Union based on shared values. By adopting common measures against terrorism, the Union has reaffirmed its commitment to fundamental freedoms and the rule of law.

The President: I thank the representative of Spain for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Canada, whom I invite to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Heinbecker (Canada) *(spoke in French)*: Mr. President, I would like to thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak about the implementation of Security Council resolution 1373 (2001). At the outset, allow me to extend my Government's sincere appreciation to Ambassador Greenstock for his initiative, his dynamic approach and his wisdom in guiding the Counter-Terrorism Committee. Members of the United Nations are indebted to the United Kingdom in general and to Ambassador Greenstock in particular for having taken this very energetic action. The interest in this debate today clearly shows the international community's determination to combat terrorism. We should also highlight the need for agreed action on several fronts.

Terrorism requires a 100 per cent commitment on the part of 100 per cent of the United Nations membership for 100 per cent of the time. Canada today reiterates its full commitment to the struggle against terrorism.

(spoke in English)

I am pleased to inform the Council that on 24 December 2001, Canada strengthened its anti-terrorism legislation, as outlined in our report to the Counter-Terrorism Committee. We believe that this legislation recognizes the need to enhance security and to protect human rights. In the very near future, we will ratify the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism and the International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings, and with that we will have ratified and implemented all 12 United Nations anti-terrorism conventions.

At the beginning of 2002 — that is to say, this month — Canada assumed the rotating chairmanship of the G-8. This summer we will be hosting the G-8 Summit in Kananaskis, Canada. Three policy priorities will shape our work in the coming months: first, strengthening the global economic growth; secondly, building a new partnership with Africa in support of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD); and, thirdly, fighting international terrorism. Each goal is important, and each one is relevant to the others.

Cooperation within the G-8 forum has been instrumental in developing agreements in other forums, including in the United Nations, on issues such as transportation, security and the exchange of information on the movement of terrorists, their support networks and their activities. Work of the G-8 has focused on improvement in national legislation and on international cooperation in combating illegal arms trafficking and the movement of terrorists. Further, the G-8 summit process has proven useful in testing ideas and subsequently in developing guidelines for countering terrorism.

The G-8's work is not limited to the G-8 summit process itself. We work together on the broader international scene with international organizations, especially the United Nations, and regional organizations as well.

At the Halifax Summit in 1995, the G-8 undertook to promote specific measures to deter, prevent, investigate and counter terrorist acts. These measures include the universal ratification of the international conventions on terrorism, the enhancement of the sharing of intelligence and open source information and the prevention of terrorist access to weapons of mass destruction. We also took steps to inhibit the mobility of terrorists, to prevent the falsification of documents and to deprive terrorists of funds.

At the Lyon Summit in 1996, G-8 leaders declared that the fight against terrorism is a priority and urged all States to deny support to terrorists.

At a ministerial conference held in Paris the same year, ministers agreed at that time to 25 measures to increase efficiency and coherence in the fight against terrorism.

Subsequently, we have continued to develop practical measures for countering terrorism. Looking ahead to Kananaskis, G-8 experts are now working jointly to develop new measures against terrorism in a number of areas, including judicial cooperation, computer crime and border security. We will also continue to ensure that our efforts feed into other established processes, particularly the Counter-Terrorism Committee, because no one has resources for competition or overlap.

As Chairman of the G-8, we will follow Italy's example and meet periodically with the Counter-Terrorism Committee, with a view to promoting mutual understanding and close cooperation.

The United Nations brings together the political, diplomatic, legal, economic, humanitarian and security dimensions of the counter-terrorism agenda. Resolution

1373 (2001) provides a sound framework for national, regional and international actions. It is the foundation for all of our collective efforts in fighting terrorism.

I should like just to go on record to say that the root cause of terrorism is terrorists. There is no circumstance in which terrorism is justified.

We all agree that the United Nations has a unique role to play. Canada believes that international cooperation is the key to ensuring the implementation of this resolution, and we recognize that many States do not at present have the resources, funds and experienced people readily at hand to undertake the wide-ranging measures required of them in resolution 1373 (2001). Without some assistance to build that capacity, those States will be left vulnerable to exploitation by terrorists and terrorist networks, and if they are vulnerable, each of us around this table is vulnerable.

Capacity-building assistance is directly related to the security of each and every one of us. It is therefore essential that we all coordinate our approaches to setting priorities and our responses to the needs of States in the implementation of resolution 1373 (2001).

We are pleased to see that the Counter-Terrorism Committee has asked States to identify their needs as well as their capacity to provide assistance to others in the implementation of the resolution. Canada will do its part for those that need help.

The President: There have not been any questions so far, so I am going to proceed with the speakers' list.

Mr. Ryan (Ireland): My delegation is grateful to the Mauritian presidency for arranging today's Council discussion on the implementation of resolution 1373 (2001).

May I join with previous speakers in saying *hasta muy pronto* to our colleague and good friend, Ambassador Jorge Navarrete of Mexico.

I also welcome the presence earlier of the Secretary-General on this very important occasion. I fully agree with his comment that the United Nations system is now being used fully as an instrument to forge a global defence against a global threat. I would also wish to associate Ireland fully with his assertion that there can be no trade-off between the fight against terrorism and the protection of human rights.

Ireland agrees fully with the statement which has just been made by the Permanent Representative of Spain on behalf of the European Union.

The terrorist attacks of 11 September were an assault not only against the United States but against the entire international community and the values we cherish. Here in the United Nations — the supreme symbol of international cooperation and the embodiment of international law — we responded decisively and with strong determination to the attacks of 11 September. In resolution 1373 (2001), we placed the United Nations where it belongs: at the centre of the international struggle to combat terrorism.

Resolution 1373 (2001) is an agenda for resolute and systematic action in combating terrorism. It imposes clear and explicit obligations on all States to combat and suppress international terrorism and to prevent its operation.

My delegation warmly commends the work of the Counter-Terrorism Committee in its role of monitoring the implementation of the resolution. We especially thank Ambassador Greenstock, as well as the Vice-Chairmen of the Committee, the Secretariat and the experts appointed to advise the Committee, for their work to date. I hope that Ambassador Greenstock will not mind if I pay special tribute to him for his commitment and his skill in chairing the Committee and for his approach of openness and transparency to the work of the Committee.

The replies received to date from Members on the implementation of resolution 1373 (2001) show that the international community is setting a firm pace in addressing the requirements binding on all of us. Soon, the three subcommittees established by the Committee will start assessing these responses.

Ireland views the resolution as a shared endeavour and, for this reason, we view as a main role of the Committee the task of facilitating, supporting and encouraging States in implementing it. We agree fully that the replies of the Committee on national reports, often seeking additional information or clarification, should be confidential, unless, of course, the reporting State wishes otherwise. We welcome the openness adopted by the Committee in its procedures, such as the practice of inviting representatives of States to attend the subcommittee for at least part of its consideration on individual national reports.

Ireland attaches particular importance to strong regional cooperation in the struggle against terrorism. I would be interested in hearing how Ambassador Greenstock views this dimension in the context of the implementation of the resolution.

There are two central points I would like to make as to how Ireland views the work of the Committee in assessing national reports and, indeed, the work of States in implementing the resolution.

First, many of the requirements in resolution 1373 (2001) require, for many States, the putting in place of complex legislation and administrative frameworks. For some States, for example, in the area of financial and banking systems, this may require substantial technical support and assistance. Ireland therefore strongly shares the view that the Committee should adopt a pragmatic, reasonable and open approach to the efforts of States in this regard.

Resolution 1377 (2001), adopted by the Council at the ministerial level meeting in November, emphasizes the importance of assistance programmes and best practices in helping States meet their obligation. Ireland welcomes the proposed directory of assistance outlined by Ambassador Greenstock, as well as the idea of a United Nations trust fund.

It is worth emphasizing that development cooperation programmes have an important role to play in this area, since building necessary administrative structures in many least developed countries requires support and assistance. This support must be forthcoming. Equally, it is the case that while supporting measures to implement the resolution, existing development cooperation funds should not be diminished in other areas of partnership and cooperation.

The economic systems in many developing countries, in large measure because of their exclusion from the benefits of the globalized economy, need support and assistance in putting in place more formal financial structures. This support must be generously given.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ireland, Mr. Brian Cowen, said in his statement to the Council on 12 November that:

> "International terrorism can fester through our own complacency if we fail to tackle vigorously its capacity to act. We have now finally learned the lesson, at a terrible cost. We must also tackle the wider conditions — and there are such conditions — that can allow terrorism to survive and even flourish." (*S/PV.4413, p. 8*)

A second point I would emphasize in terms of the international struggle against terrorism is the importance of full respect by all States, at all times, for the full body of international law, including the conventions on universal human rights.

Resolution 1373 (2001) is an agenda for action, but this agenda must not ever be at the price of any State's violating the human rights of its citizens or of any human being.

We all understand and appreciate that the role of the Counter-Terrorism Committee is to monitor implementation of resolution 1373 (2001).

We equally owe it to ourselves to emphasize that here in the United Nations, the implementation of this resolution must, since it is being done in our name, respect in every detail the wider human rights requirements whose elaboration are a signal achievement of this world body over many years.

This debate today is an opportunity to register the progress we have made in a fight against the common enemy of terrorism, a journey that will be long and arduous. We have made a good start, but this is a process that will go on for a long time. States will rightly not "graduate" from the work of the Committee or the requirements of resolution 1373 (2001), but will instead move forward together in strengthening our common work against terrorism for the benefit of all of us. Ireland will strongly support this work, and we will also strongly support the pivotal role of the United Nations in this area. We, too, hope that agreement can be achieved as soon as possible on a comprehensive convention against terrorism, and we will actively work to this end.

The President: I thank the representative of Ireland for his kind words addressed to me and to my country.

Mr. Tafrov (Bulgaria) (*spoke in French*): First of all, I would like to associate myself with the tribute that all of my colleagues here have paid to Ambassador Jorge Navarrete. We will greatly miss his competence, experience and warm personality.

As a country associated with the European Union, Bulgaria subscribes fully to the statement just made on behalf of the Union by Mr. Inocencio Arias, the Permanent Representative of Spain. I should like to add just a few brief comments in my national capacity.

The period since the adoption of resolution 1373 (2001) has, in our view, been but used to prepare for its implementation. My country welcomes the spirit of understanding, seriousness and cooperation that prevails in the Counter-Terrorism Committee as well as the transparent way in which it accounts for its work through almost weekly briefings. Bulgaria commends the effective work of the Bureau of the Committee and pays tribute to Sir Jeremy Greenstock, not only for his impeccable professionalism and the impressive competence with which he guides the Committee's work, but also for his admirable personal commitment to the struggle against terrorism.

I believe it is now clear to all Member States of the United Nations that the Committee on Counter-Terrorism is an instrument of the Security Council whose task is to clarify, inform, coordinate and, where necessary, assist, rather than to punish. This unusual characteristic of the Committee derives from the nature of resolution 1373 (2001), but also from that of other resolutions of the Council and the General Assembly that constitute the categorical and universal rejection of terrorism on the part of all Member States of the Organization, in particular since the tragedy of 11 September.

On 24 December last, Bulgaria submitted its national report on the implementation of resolution 1373 (2001). Detailed and comprehensive, the report is available to everyone and reflects accurately Bulgaria's targeted and coordinated efforts to fight terrorism. I shall not dwell on it in detail.

Bulgaria would like to strongly emphasize on of the main lessons we learned from our own experience in the struggle against terrorism: the need for strengthened coordination at the regional and subregional levels. At present, we have quite an impressive accumulation of national reports. Without a doubt, the Governments of most countries are making commendable efforts in the fight against terrorism. Yet all of these efforts will be meaningful and, above all, effective only when they are taken in the context of action in the various regions and subregions of the world. In this connection, I would join Ambassador Ryan in asking Sir Jeremy Greenstock what his views are concerning the work of the Committee to encourage such coordination at the regional and subregional levels.

As far as Europe is concerned, we must emphasize that European coordination in the fight against terrorism is proceeding consistently. The Action Plan on counter-terrorism measures of the European Union — a very important document — also includes the countries associated with the Union, as well as to others. I would also like to mention the European Conference, which met recently with invited countries that included the Republic of Moldova, the Russian Federation and Ukraine. Also noteworthy is the Action Plan on counter-terrorism measures of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, adopted last year in Bucharest.

At the subregional level, two documents stand out to which Bulgaria is a signatory: the Declaration of the Warsaw Conference of Central, Eastern and South-Eastern European countries on combating terrorism and the Declaration of the Ministers for Defence of the member countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the 10 countries associated with the North Atlantic Alliance. I would also like to emphasize the work done of the Stability Pact, which at one of its recent round tables focused particular attention on counter-terrorism.

A second lesson we have learned concerns the ties between organized crime and terrorism, a relationship that is often symbiotic. This is a phenomenon that we must take into account in the fight against terrorism.

At the end of his briefing, the Chairman of the Counter-Terrorism Committee referred to the problem of possible human rights abuses by certain Governments in connection with their fight against terrorism. Bulgaria is very alert to human rights issues and believes this is a serious problem. However, we agree with the Chairman that the Committee is not mandated by the Council to take into account the human rights dimensions of the fight against terrorism. That is neither its task nor its function, which consists rather of implementing resolution 1373 (2001).

However, nothing prevents national reports in the public domain from being studied by specialized human rights organizations in the United Nations system and other organizations, in particular non-

governmental organizations. This would allow an adequate approach to addressing a serious problem.

Mr. Shen Guofang (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): First, I would like to thank the delegation of Mauritius for arranging this important meeting. We would also like to express our regret that the Ambassador of Mexico, Mr. Navarrete, will be leaving us soon. He was once his country's Ambassador to China, and he was highly respected in our country. He is also highly respected at the United Nations, and we wish him every success in his future endeavours.

In response to the terrorist attacks on 11 September, the United Nations, including the Security Council, acted promptly. At present, the work of the Counter-Terrorism Committee has yielded preliminary results. Most countries have submitted their national reports on the implementation of the provisions of resolution 1373 (2001), which reflects fully the firm resolve and determination of the international community to combat terrorism.

Here, I must express particular gratitude to Ambassador Greenstock and the Committee's Vice-Chairmen for their prodigious work. I particularly appreciate Ambassador Greenstock's excellent working methods.

The success of the global fight against terrorism requires more effective action at the national level. In that regard, all countries should support, and coordinate with, each other. At the same time, the fight against terrorism should also give a full role to the efforts of the world's regions and subregions. I want to mention the meeting of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, whose members include Kazakhstan, China, Kyrgyzstan, the Russian Federation, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. The Foreign Ministers of the members of the organization issued a joint statement in which they decided that they would soon establish their counter-terrorism mechanism at Bishkek. We believe this will add new force to the international endeavour against terrorism. The Security Council should support regional efforts to combat terrorism. We therefore hope that the Counter-Terrorism Committee will also make relevant efforts in this regard.

The Counter-Terrorism Committee will soon begin to examine national reports. Today's Security Council meeting is very necessary. The views and suggestions of a majority of Member States of the United Nations will help make the Committee's work in its next phase more positive and effective. We also believe that the consideration of national reports is a very important process that will entail an enormous amount of work in the Committee and require very detailed analysis. We believe that particular attention should be paid in that process to the handling of the following issues.

First, the Counter-Terrorism Committee should base its work on resolution 1373 (2001) and the guidelines it has itself adopted. It should also treat all Member States equally and avoid double standards.

Secondly, the United Nations, and in particular the Security Council, should play a leading role in the international fight against terrorism. In that regard, the Counter-Terrorism Committee is the only body mandated by Member States to monitor the implementation of resolution 1373 (2001) and to make decisive judgements on the status of its implementation on the basis of national reports. In that connection, we favour the idea that the Committee should strengthen its cooperation and coordination with other organs and organizations. We believe that relevant international financial agencies and organizations should also provide the Committee with assistance and technical support. We should gradually find effective ways to cooperate.

Thirdly, we support the early establishment within the United Nations framework of an assistance fund to support and aid Member States so they can fully and effectively implement resolution 1373 (2001).

Fourthly, we endorse the statement just made by Ambassador Greenstock on behalf of the Counter-Terrorism Committee. We believe that the work of the Committee should be focused. The urgent task before it is to complete its examination of national reports, rather than be involved in questions beyond its mandate.

In conclusion, I want to emphasize one point. The international community should step up its efforts to solve development-related questions and the causes of regional conflicts, promote international peace and social progress and try to reduce elements of insecurity at their source so as to strengthen the international fight against terrorism.

The President: I thank the representative of China for his kind words addressed to me.

I will now give the floor to three non-Council members.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of India. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Sharma (India): We offer you our warm congratulations, Mr. President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month, and wish you success in your work.

I also take this opportunity to congratulate our friends Bulgaria, Cameroon, Guinea, Mexico and Syria for joining the Council, and express our appreciation to Bangladesh, Jamaica, Mali, Tunisia and Ukraine for their contribution during their term in the Council.

We commend your initiative, Mr. President, in convening this open meeting of the Council on counter-terrorism, which is the overriding concern of the international community today. Such a meeting is overdue after the catastrophe here of 11 September and the resolutions adopted immediately, both in the Council and the General Assembly, expressing outrage and determination on the part of the world community to extirpate this scourge from our midst.

Terrorism is the anathema of the twenty-first century. It threatens the civil, peaceful, equitable, democratic and cooperative global order that we wish to see evolve in the world so as to grasp the opportunity arising after the polarization, divisions and surrogate wars of the cold-war era. Terrorism is the disorder that undermines that search. Global terrorism has turned its malign attention to many countries across the world for decades, bringing in its wake the pain and waste of wanton murders, human tragedy, mayhem and mindless destruction. The social, political, psychological and physical effects of terrorism are destabilizing and immense, as is no doubt intended. Peace, economic progress and development, social harmony and political institution-building are disrupted and retarded. Its monstrous operation must therefore be arrested and conclusively defeated by the world community.

We know from our experience that open, liberal and democratic societies are particularly vulnerable. The response of the international community to this challenge had until recently been generally disengaged and apathetic, and characterized largely by tokenism. Perhaps that was because of a sense of immunity from the worst manifestations of this phenomenon in those societies, without whose political will and determination the struggle against the scourge of terrorism could not become a global reality. Without universal ownership of the fight against terror and shared resolve, the creeping tentacles of terrorism cannot be blunted and destroyed.

State victims of terrorism, which have hitherto been facing this challenge on their own, now have the succour of a joint combat against a global evil; for terrorism is a disease that has to be removed from the world's body entirely before its poison spreads unchecked. In the absence of a collective, steeled and implacable response against this global menace, the results will be predictable: increasingly brazen and outrageous horrors to which no country or society will be immune, for there is something among the deluded perpetrators of terror that revels in anarchy and carnage.

The international community responded to the collective challenge created by terrorism and its backers through resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council on 12 September. The adoption of resolution 1373 (2001) by the Council sent an inflexible and unambiguous signal that the world community will admit no space for terrorists or their sponsors. It conveyed the resolve that henceforth there would be zero tolerance for the perpetrators and instigators of terror. The civilized world would no longer permit such acts to be conducted with impunity. India has unreservedly supported resolution 1373 (2001).

The dispatch with which the Council adopted resolution 1373 (2001) and set up the Counter-Terrorism Committee, under the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, underlines the importance and the urgency with which the international community has decided to combat terrorism collectively and unitedly. The Committee has worked tirelessly and with energy in the short period of its existence to mount a counter-offensive on international terrorism.

Sir Jeremy Greenstock has also set an example by holding regular briefings and sharing with the non-members of the Council the Committee's ideas on full implementation of the resolution. Members of the United Nations have responded promptly to the resolution, judged by the number of responses already

received by the Committee, which is unprecedented by United Nations standards. This reflects the importance the membership attaches to the work of the Committee and the support it enjoys across the board. Above all, it is a tribute to Sir Jeremy's personal drive and commitment, which we would like to commend.

India has been a victim of state-sponsored, cross-border terrorism for two decades now, with a horrendous toll in the tens of thousands. The anguish and suffering caused is incalculable. We have fought this terror, and will continue to do so, with unflinching determination and resolve. We have also gained valuable lessons from this tragic period. It is with this background that we would like to share with you some suggestions which, we hope, will be beneficial to the implementation of the counter-terrorism resolution and will help bring about a more effective response from the Council and the Committee to this grave threat to international peace and security.

We appreciate the work already done by the Committee. The three subcommittees will soon engage themselves in the task of examining national reports. We trust that the Committee will identify inadequacies in domestic legislation or in its implementation, as well as areas for further international cooperation.

Even as the process continues, focus should be maintained on groups that are known to perpetrate terrorism and their sponsors. Considerable information about them is already available in the public domain. More information could be sought from affected countries in a more proactive approach.

For example, use could be made of the list of terrorist groups and their supporters drawn up by the Sanctions Committee established pursuant to resolution 1267 (1999). Similarly, the Council could profitably look at lists of terrorist organisations announced by member countries as part of their national anti-terrorist legislation. Reports that accounts are being frozen after allowing the terrorist organizations to withdraw funds or transfer assets to organizations which have not been named in the lists, and reports of banned terrorist organizations mutating into other bodies need to be looked into critically.

Resolution 1373 (2001), which reflects a collective obligation on the international community, affords no justification or excuse to any individual, group, organization or State for perpetrating terrorism. The Council and the Committee should, therefore, not accept any putative justification or excuse for terrorism. The Council should hold those who offer any such excuses accountable and make an example of them. This would demonstrate that the Council and the Committee mean business.

Resolution 1373 (2001), in operative paragraph 2 (a), enjoins all States to "refrain from providing any form of support, active or passive, to entities or persons involved in terrorist acts". Yet statements continue to emanate that "moral, political and diplomatic support" will continue to be given to what is clearly terrorism. There is nothing moral about supporting terrorism; it is the embodiment of immorality. Nor is there anything diplomatic about supporting terrorism; we associate diplomacy with higher ends. Terrorism certainly cannot be the extension of politics by other means. Extension of support to terrorism in any form or in any manner, including moral, political and diplomatic support, is in clear contravention of resolution 1373 (2001). Left unchallenged and unaddressed, statements asserting such support and other pseudo-justifications will leave the resolution open to mischievous and self-serving misrepresentations and misinterpretations, undermining its intent.

Terrorists and their sponsors have become used to empty gestures and rhetoric from the international community for a number of years. They will now be testing the will and resolve of the international community to fully and faithfully implement the counter-terrorism resolution.

Less than three days after the adoption of the resolution, on 1 October, the Legislative Assembly building in Srinagar, in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir, was attacked. Masood Azhar, leader of the terrorist group Jaish-e-Mohammed, claimed that his group had perpetrated this act. This was clearly in contravention of resolution 1373 (2001). We are not aware if any action was initiated against this group. Emboldened, Jaish-e-Mohammed and another group of its ilk, Lashkar-e-Tayyiba, abhorring liberal democracies and their legislatures as much as their instigators and sponsors do, attacked our parliament in the capital on 13 December in an attempt to decimate our political leadership.

None of the five terrorists who attacked our parliament were Indian nationals. While my Government shall take whatever actions it considers necessary to bring to an end terrorist activities directed

against India's sovereignty, security and territorial integrity, we believe that the existence of, and support for the activities of, terrorist groups such as Jaish-e-Mohammed and Lashkar-e-Tayyiba after 28 September is in direct and complete contravention of resolution 1373 (2001). The Council and the Committee should quickly examine the need for expeditious and swift collective response against all terrorist acts, wherever and by whomever these are committed.

Terrorist groups are not hermetic entities. They need sponsorship, logistical support, financial backing, training facilities and a home. They operate from safe havens, where Governments and their agencies harbour them, give them the means to plan and carry out their heinous actions and return to their sanctuary.

Requiring such Governments and their agencies to deny to the terrorists facilities and safe havens and to hand them over promptly to countries where they are wanted for their terrorist activities, would help to bring them to justice, rather than necessitate bringing justice to them. The Council and the Committee should pay particular attention to the effective implementation of this dimension of the resolution.

Resolution 1373 (2001) marked a watershed in our common combat against terrorism. In our view, it was a most ambitious and timely undertaking of the Security Council in fulfilment of its responsibility to maintain international peace and security. The Council must act swiftly and resolutely to implement the counter-terrorism resolution with neither fear nor favour. I compliment the Council on the purposeful start it has made and would like to assure members that the Council and its Committee will have my delegation's full support in their endeavour.

The President: I thank the representative of India for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Peru. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. De Rivero (Peru) (*spoke in Spanish*): I wish at the outset to congratulate you, Mr. President, and the other members of the Security Council on having organized today's meeting, which is open to non-members of the Council. I truly believe that such meetings are useful, because they involve many States in the Council's fight against terrorism. I wish also to congratulate the new members of the Council: Bulgaria, Cameroon, Guinea, Mexico and the Syrian Arab Republic. I wish my friend Ambassador Jorge Navarrete of Mexico all success in his new endeavours; that is a virtual certainty, because he has so effectively represented his country at the United Nations.

My delegation, which endorses the statement made by the representative of Costa Rica on behalf of the Rio Group, considers it important to speak at today's Council meeting because the struggle against terrorism has been and continues to be a major objective of our Government's policy. Peru reaffirms its emphatic rejection of terrorism, whatever its motivation and whoever its perpetrators. My country, which suffered the barbarism of terrorism for nearly 20 years, has already submitted to the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1373 (2001) information on our experience in the struggle against this scourge. My country is prepared to continue contributing to the activities of the Counter-Terrorism Committee, which is chaired by the representative of the United Kingdom, Sir Jeremy Greenstock, whom we congratulate on his work thus far.

It is not my delegation's intention to repeat the content of my country's speech in the General Assembly debate on the agenda item entitled "Measures to eliminate international terrorism"; we wish only to emphasize here that the same energy and determination that must be applied to the international community's action in the struggle against terrorism must be applied also to respect for peoples' civil and political rights.

Over the past decade there was undoubtedly a great deal of progress in the world democratic system and in respect for human rights and the globalization of justice. The measures we adopt to fight terrorism should not affect that process. The best antidote to terrorism is the tolerance that is achieved only within democracy. A fight against terrorism that destroys democracy, that violates human rights and that hides behind impunity impoverishes nations in both civic and moral terms. We say this because during the anti-terrorist struggle we in Peru suffered human rights violations and impunity on the part of the Fujimori Government, abuses that the current democratic Government is investigating and making amends for.

Moreover, both the Security Council and the General Assembly must clearly affirm that terrorist groups themselves are violators of human rights, just as

States can be. That is also in accord with what the Commission on Human Rights in Geneva has been saying for a number of years.

In addition, we would like to stress that there are no more effective anti-terrorist measures than those that originate in concerted efforts within the United Nations. Terrorism is a global problem, and eliminating it must be the responsibility of the organized international community. We therefore consider that the highest priority must be accorded to the adoption of a comprehensive convention against terrorism.

My delegation wishes also to mention two elements on which the Committee should focus its attention. The first is the biological or bacteriological terrorist threat. Recent events have shown that this is a potential reality whose elimination ought to be discussed in the Committee, including the possible appointment of an expert in this important area.

Secondly, as the Secretary-General said in his speech before the Council last November, besides encouraging policies related to monitoring radioactive materials and to strengthening the nuclear non-proliferation regime, the Committee should promote international cooperation to strengthen measures to strengthen nuclear and radiological safety and the safe transport of radioactive waste. In that connection, we welcome the scheduling of a conference on the latter subject for early 2003.

My country, which is a party to the 12 international anti-terrorism treaties and which is placing its experience at the service of the Committee through the participation of a Peruvian expert, reaffirms its conviction that success in the struggle against terrorism depends on achieving a broad partnership not only among States but also including the private sector, including banks and financial institutions, the academic sector with its research, and civil society with its ardent support for human rights.

Peru reaffirms its commitment to the struggle against terrorism. It will continue its cooperation to ensure that the total elimination of that scourge will soon become a reality.

The President: I thank the representative of Peru for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker on my list is the representative of Morocco. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Bennouna (Morocco) (*spoke in Arabic*): At the outset, I would like to convey to you, Sir, on behalf of the Group of Arab States, our most sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. We are convinced that, thanks to your wisdom and skills, the Council's work will be successful.

At this first open meeting of the Council this year, I cannot fail to congratulate Guinea, Syria, Cameroon, Bulgaria and Mexico on their election to the Council. I would also like to take this opportunity to wish my friend Jorge Navarrete much family happiness and every success in his new functions back home.

The Security Council is meeting today to discuss international terrorism and, in particular, the efforts by States at the regional level to coordinate their counter-terrorism policies for combating these ignoble acts.

In his statement, Sir Jeremy Greenstock shed light on a number of important aspects of the Counter-Terrorism Committee which was established pursuant to Security Council resolution 1373 (2001). What he has told us enriches our debate and will help us focus on practical measures to eradicate international terrorism and make progress in terms of international cooperation to this end.

In participating in this Security Council debate, the Arab Group is animated by the wish to make a positive, concrete contribution to international efforts against terrorism, in compliance with resolution 1373 (2001) of 28 September. As soon as this resolution was adopted, the Arab countries established all the national and regional mechanisms necessary to ensure the implementation of the provisions of the resolution in the best possible conditions. The Arab countries that did not yet have the required structures have now set them up in order to coordinate action among the various competent organs in this field. They have also updated existing laws and legislation in order to act effectively against terrorism. They have adopted preventive and deterrent measures, including controls on suspicious sources of financing. The Arab countries will pursue these efforts to update their legal systems. If necessary, they will call for assistance from countries and organizations with experience in this field in order to achieve the purposes and principles of the Charter.

At the regional level, the Arab countries have taken the initiative of creating a group of experts

within the League of Arab States in order to coordinate their efforts in the implementation of action taken by our countries pursuant to resolution 1373 (2001). The group met on 13 and 14 January of this year and issued a statement in which it spoke of the Arab States' support for United Nations efforts to adopt a comprehensive international convention against terrorism and, in particular, to find a definition for this phenomenon. The Arab States remain convinced that a definition will facilitate the efforts of the international community, especially those of the Counter-Terrorism Committee, to clarify various perspectives and positions. The Arab countries also believe that we must avoid any misuse of the term "terrorism" to serve particular interests in political disputes.

Everyone knows that in times of conflict the rules of international humanitarian law must be respected by all parties, whether governmental or non-governmental. Therefore, one cannot justify any infringement or attack on the life and dignity of an innocent civilian population, children, women and the elderly in particular.

In keeping with these rules and standards, the international legal system grants the Palestinian people, whose most basic human rights are being flouted, the right to self-defence in the current difficult and sensitive conditions in the Middle East — conditions and circumstances that have led to tragic events on a daily basis with respect to the suffering of the Palestinian people. We cannot but condemn the grave violations of international humanitarian law being endured by the Palestinian people, in particular, attempts to kill people, starve them, displace them, deprive them of their freedoms, block and lay siege to their cities and restrict their freedom of movement. Such practices, among others, strike international public opinion and awaken its conscience, leading to the demand for action to put an end to these practices.

What is even more serious is some people's attempt to take advantage of the events of 11 September to achieve advances at the expense of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. Such attempts would have a disastrous effect on the peace process and undeniably negative consequences for the credibility of any efforts by the international community in combating terrorism.

Despite all these challenges, the Arab Group hopes that dialogue and negotiation will prevail over violence so that the Middle East may break the cycle of threats, accusation and violence.

The international legal system, as enshrined in United Nations resolutions since 1947, stipulates that two States should exist, recognize each other and co-exist in peace and security. The time has come for the Palestinians to obtain a State, with Jerusalem as its capital. It is also time for Israel to be convinced that its best guarantee of security comes through this basic demand of the Palestinian people and through Israeli withdrawal from occupied Syrian and Lebanese land, in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions.

This statement, made to the Council today on behalf of the Arab Group, is not just a one-time event. We are reaffirming cultural principles and values enshrined in our civilization that have guided us for centuries.

History has recorded that the Islamic world was at the forefront of the implementation of humanitarian principles well before international humanitarian law was codified, and it sought to secure respect for the rights of minorities. They ensured that dialogue and coexistence with other peoples and religions prevailed.

Based on these cultural values, the Arab States have condemned international terrorism in all its forms and sources.

Combating terrorism requires that measures be taken to prevent the recurrence of such terrorist acts. It also requires that we address the fundamental causes of these events, with the understanding that attempts to understand the motives of terrorism does not in any way mean that one is attempting to justify or rationalize it. It is one thing to understand this phenomenon and another to justify it. I must recall what the Secretary-General himself said on more than one occasion, which was that the events of 11 September should not make us forget the problems that the world faced on 10 September and that pushed some to the edge of despair and recklessness. The basic problems are the spread of ignorance, misery, deprivation and the aggravation of the economic and social gap between peoples.

If we truly wish to be worthy of humanity, we must mobilize all our energies to face these challenges, despite their severity. It is our duty today to eliminate all displays of hatred or rancour against minorities,

wherever they may occur. We must act to prevent all slander and defamation campaigns against the Arab and Muslim communities.

The Arab Group is convinced that every effort must be made to deal with these scourges, because by addressing them we will be able to eliminate international terrorism. Globalization, which has become a reality of life politically, strategically and economically, requires us to act at the level of the international community as a whole. This collective concerted effort does not negate or diminish the responsibility that we must each shoulder, but, to the contrary, it helps us shoulder our responsibilities in the best possible way.

The President: I thank the representative of Morocco for his kind words addressed to me.

There have been some very interesting questions and comments. I will now give the floor to Sir Jeremy Greenstock to respond to those questions and comments.

Sir Jeremy Greenstock (United Kingdom): I will say a word, I hope with your permission, Mr. President, at the end of this debate about some of the general issues that have arisen of interest to the Committee, but let me pick up one or two particular points and questions.

Ireland and Bulgaria both asked about regional cooperation. They know that the Committee is very interested in taking forward the regional dimension of our action against terrorism. I think we have got two things particularly in mind. One is that the regions are normally composed of States with similar systems, traditions and cultures, and there are lessons to be learned within those traditions and cultures about what is the best practice in terms of legislation or machinery to deal with multinational crime, including terrorism, where some members of the region can learn from others in terms of the models to follow. That can, perhaps, be of more practical use than people realize. The Committee wants to tap those sources of mutual assistance between Member States. We will be in touch in due course with representatives of regional groups to try to take that forward. We are also conscious of the work that other international institutions can do to help groups at the regional level.

The other important aspect is more political. It involves mutual encouragement between members of the same region to take effective action against terrorism for a very understandable and self-interested reason. This whole fight against terrorism has to be collective because terrorists choose their route. If one's neighbour has not met the standards that resolution 1373 (2001) is setting, is that a danger to one? Therefore peer pressure within regions is extremely important. It may be that the Committee will debate and agree that if there are gaps in the capacity to counter terrorism within a region, then there needs to be regional encouragement for those gaps to be filled. This might have just as much influence on a State in question as the activity of the United Nations.

There were some interesting comments and suggestions particularly from the Permanent Representative of India, for which I would like to express gratitude. He showed his interest in specific cases and the reaction of the Counter-Terrorism Committee to specific cases. We are agreed at this stage that we will not get into specific cases, for two reasons. First, our job is to cooperate with Member States in raising global capacity, and we want to do that first. The second reason is that resolution 1373 (2001) makes it clear — and we are very clear — that the obligation for specific action rests with Member States. It is for a Member State to take action where there is clear evidence of a terrorist act within its area of jurisdiction. We want that obligation to remain and for no Member State to feel that the United Nations is taking on an obligation that it must accept itself in the first instance, even if we come later to specific cases where a certain amount of further encouragement is necessary.

A number of Member States have referred to human rights, but I want to make it clear now that their interventions speak for themselves. I am not going to make any further comment beyond what I have said in my original introduction.

Finally, there has been at least one reference this morning to State terrorism. I want to make it clear that the Committee has so far gone to considerable trouble to proceed by consensus and to keep subjective political input to a minimum. The mentor and the guide for the Committee is, of course, resolution 1373 (2001), but we also have to be conscious of the content of the 12 conventions on various aspects of terrorism. None of these seminal texts refer to State terrorism, which is not an international legal concept. We must be careful not to get caught up in the rhetoric of political

conflict. If States abuse their power, they should be judged against the international conventions and other instruments dealing with war crimes, crimes against humanity and international human rights and humanitarian law. Let us not muddy the exceptional and important work of the Counter-Terrorism Committee by confusing these processes.

The President: I thank Sir Jeremy Greenstock for the responses that he has provided and for the clarifications that he has given.

I will now resume the list of speakers.

Mr. Mahbubani (Singapore): Mr. President, I hope you will permit me to make a few introductory comments before I go to the body of my remarks. First, we would like to join our colleagues in paying a tribute to Ambassador Jorge Navarrete. In his short time here, he has made a difference. He led a masterful campaign to get Mexico elected to the Council, even though the odds were initially against him. Also, during his short stay here, he has demonstrated that it is important for every ambassador not just to defend his national interests but also to defend the other hat he wears as a common stakeholder in the United Nations community. And this is what Ambassador Navarrete has done in trying to strengthen that community, especially the Security Council. We will miss him.

Secondly, Mr. President, we would like to praise you for the format you have adopted today in calling on three speakers from the Council and three non-member speakers. I think you are symbolically demonstrating the importance of both working together on this issue.

Thirdly, I would also like to say that my delegation associates itself fully with the statement to be made later by the Permanent Representative of Brunei Darussalam on behalf of the Association of South-East Asian Nations. Here, I guess we are echoing the appeal that Ambassador Greenstock just made on the importance of regional cooperation.

Turning now to my remarks, I would like to begin by thanking Ambassador Greenstock for his clear and useful statement made on behalf of the Counter-Terrorism Committee. We certainly join our colleagues in commending him for the sterling work he has put in as the Chair. I think he has successfully carried out a very difficult balancing act of ensuring that the work of the Committee remains transparent, and at the same time, of course, also remains efficient and effective. As we all know, he has worked very hard. Indeed, if he puts up a case to his Government to double his salary, I will personally support it! We are certainly fully committed to the work of the Committee.

We know that since 11 September 2001, the Security Council has taken on significant additional responsibilities. In the past, Mr. President, if you had suggested one or two key areas of unique Council responsibility, we would have mentioned, for example, peacekeeping operations. This was an activity for which the Security Council had a unique mandate for which no other body could assume responsibility. However, since 11 September, we have, of course, now taken on new responsibilities, and the traditional definitions of "threats to international peace and security" no longer hold. Whereas terrorism was previously an item discussed primarily in the Sixth Committee of the General Assembly, it is now a major agenda item of this Council.

As a subsidiary organ of the Council, the Counter-Terrorism Committee, as we have discovered, is actually sui generis. The closest precedents to such a Committee could be the committee set up by resolution 421 (1977) on South Africa or the one established by resolution 446 (1979) on occupied Arab territories. However, neither of these committees matched the breadth and depth of the mandate of the Committee on Counter-Terrorism, which, frankly, has taken the Council into uncharted territory. Because it is leading us into this uncharted territory, it is actually even more important that both members and non-members of the Council remain fully engaged in its work.

Right now the Counter-Terrorism Committee is mandated to monitor the implementation of resolution 1373 (2001) by all States. But as we all know, this resolution is very wide-ranging and, hence it has been given a very powerful mandate.

We have begun phase one of our work, which is to assess the reports submitted by Member States. Unfortunately, not all Member States have met the deadline for submission. We hope that they will provide their reports as soon as possible. After the initial assessment, certain States may still require assistance in specific areas. In some cases, the Council, on the basis of information provided by this Committee, may have to consider further action to ensure full compliance with resolution 1373 (2001).

A counter-terrorism expert once observed that fighting terrorism is like being a goalkeeper. You can make a hundred brilliant saves, but the only shot that people remember is the one that gets past you. In this regard, therefore, the Counter-Terrorism Committee can be considered a special coach for those tending goal in Member States. While the Committee cannot directly prevent terrorist attacks, it is its job to ensure that all States implement the necessary legislation, regulations and framework to prevent another September 11. Where these are lacking, the Committee will have to step in to direct States to the relevant organizations for assistance.

One point that we would like to emphasize in today's debate is the importance of practical cooperation in combating terrorism. Indeed, at the Council's last ministerial meeting on counter-terrorism, on 12 November 2001, our Minister for Foreign Affairs, Professor Jayakumar, noted that two common threads had emerged from the discussions on terrorism in the various regional and international forums held since 11 September. First, there had been a clear, universal condemnation of terrorism; and second, a clear resolve to make common cause against it. He stressed that

> "The challenge now is to translate statements of outrage and declarations of resolve into coherent and coordinated international action." (*S/PV.4413, p. 12*)

In this regard, while the Counter-Terrorism Committee remains crucial in coordinating global action against terrorism, each and every Member State — and, frankly, each regional organization — also has an important role to play in rooting out and destroying the driving forces behind international terrorism.

Singapore is a small country lacking in natural resources and therefore heavily reliant on cross-boundary flows of goods, services, technology and people. We recognize that security, once measured by the strength of a nation's army, is now a matter of protecting innocent individuals against the risks of living in an open, global community. That is why we have taken an active part in counter-terrorism discussions, no matter where they take place.

For instance, we participated in the Ministerial Conference on Transport and Environment in Tokyo just this past week. We also look very much forward to the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) high-level meeting in Montreal next month.

At the regional level, Singapore is an active participant in the yearly Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) Chiefs of Police Conference. During those meetings, law enforcement agencies of ASEAN members share intelligence on wide-ranging issues and develop important networks for joint enforcement actions against perpetrators of crime and terrorist acts. Indeed, when the Permanent Representative of Brunei speaks later, he will give further information on what ASEAN has been doing in this area. We believe that these and other regional efforts are building-blocks for coordinated international action against terrorism.

In this debate we would also like to share with our colleagues a recent experience that we had in Singapore, which, I think, has been reported widely.

International terrorism is not a problem that began on 11 September 2001, and no one is immune. Singapore has always been alert to the possibility of terrorist attacks. Last month, our security agency broke up and arrested a terrorist group that was planning attacks against Americans and American assets in Singapore. Unfortunately, there was significant misreporting of what happened. Some media reports created the impression among their audience that it was the discovery of the videotape in Afghanistan by the United States authorities that led to the arrest of the Jemaah Islamiyah. This gave the wrong impression. The Singapore authorities are not aware of any information received from foreign sources which led to the arrest of the 15 persons for terrorism-related activities in Singapore. Indeed, the arrest of those 15 terrorists in Singapore was not based on the video or on any other information provided by foreign liaison sources.

It may be useful for us to spell out the chronology of these events. The group was uncovered by our security agency following the surveillance of individuals with suspected links to Al-Qaeda several months ago. When it became clear that the group members had begun active preparations to conduct bomb attacks in Singapore, our security agency moved to pre-empt their actions. The operation to round up the group members began on 9 December 2001, with the last member arrested on 24 December. While the operation was in progress, our security agency briefed

its foreign intelligence partners about the case on 14 December 2001. It was at that briefing that our security agency was informed by its foreign intelligence partners that a videotape and some debriefing notes pertaining to a planned terrorist operation in Singapore had been discovered in the house of a senior Al-Qaeda leader in Afghanistan. Our security agency then requested copies of the tape and notes, which we received on 28 December 2001 — which is, of course, long after the 15 individuals had been arrested.

I know that members of the media are watching our proceedings today. I hope that they will rely on their fact-checkers when they report this story in future.

We will prevail against terrorism only through closer and deeper coordination between our law enforcement and intelligence agencies. Beyond practical cooperation, we should also be aware of the context in which terrorism flourishes. We do not wish here to start a debate about the root causes of terrorism, but it may be useful to put our current efforts against terrorism in perspective.

The rise of extreme groups has been a problem throughout history. They did not start recently. Where they are allowed to grow and ferment because the majority fails to act, they have pernicious effects on the rest of humanity. Indeed, Singapore's Minister of State for Community Development and Sports, Mr. Yaacob Ibrahim, said the following about the role of the majority:

> "The majority were insecure about the pace of change in the modern world, and about their economic livelihoods. Extremists took advantage of these psychological insecurities to push their violent solutions."

Hence, in our efforts against terrorism, we should reflect on what psychological insecurities we may need to address in order to prevent the eruption of violent solutions. As the Secretary-General said earlier this morning when he addressed the Council, "Terrorism is a weapon of alienated, desperate people, and often a product of despair". *(supra)*

In conclusion, we would like to stress that, in dealing with terrorists, we face a shadowy and elusive quarry. Countering terrorism must be a global endeavour. The terrorists have built up a complex international network. In our mission to defeat international terrorism, a vigorous, sustained and global strategy is needed. A concerted effort, coordinated by the Counter-Terrorism Committee with the rest of the United Nations organs and relevant international organizations, is one key way to eradicate this global cancer.

It may also be helpful to bear in mind that the struggle against terrorism is unlike a war against drugs or crime in one crucial respect. Indeed, in an article published in this month's issue of *Foreign Affairs*, Sir Michael Howard writes that

> "it is fundamentally 'a battle for hearts and minds' ... without hearts and minds one cannot obtain intelligence, and without intelligence terrorists can never be defeated."

In maintaining transparency through frequent consultations with non-member States, the Counter-Terrorism Committee plays a crucial part in ensuring that our struggle against terrorism enjoys the full support of Member States. Indeed, in organizing a concerted response to the global threat of terrorism, we are actually acting in the spirit in which the United Nations was created.

I should like to end by quoting once again from the Secretary-General's remarks:

> "Through the work of this Committee, Member States are, for once, really using this Organization in the way its founders intended - as an instrument through which to forge a global defence against a global threat." *(supra)*

The President: I thank the representative of Singapore for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Strømmen (Norway): Let me start by thanking our colleague — and my neighbour at the Council table — Ambassador Jorge Navarrete of Mexico for his contribution to the work of the Council and to wish him well in his new and important assignments.

Following the horrific terrorist attacks on 11 September — only four months ago — the Security Council reacted quickly and decisively in the face of one of the greatest threats to international peace and security in the twenty-first century.

The landmark resolutions 1368 (2001) and 1373 (2001), followed by the ministerial-level declaration adopted in resolution 1377 (2001), have laid a solid

foundation for a leading role for the United Nations in the fight against international terrorism.

This week the Council adopted resolution 1390 (2002), which again clearly confirms that the terrorist threat posed by groups like Al-Qaeda is not limited to any one single country; it is a truly global problem which must be tackled by truly global cooperation.

The Counter-Terrorism Committee, under Ambassador Greenstock's competent leadership, has already proved itself to be a very important instrument in this regard. Sir Jeremy's active efforts at transparency have created the climate of trust needed for the Committee to be able to monitor Member States' implementation of resolution 1373 (2001) in the most efficient manner possible.

We fully support the Chairman's approach and the focus he has outlined for the Committee's handling of national reports. We welcome the reports submitted and encourage those States that have not yet reported to do so as soon as possible. Our aim is to cooperate; to support Member States in strengthening national legislation and implementation; and to share best practices. We will be proactive and even-handed. In our efforts, we will, of course, not lose sight of the human rights perspective.

Many States will need technical and financial assistance in order to fulfil their obligations under resolution 1373 (2001). Norway is considering how best we can meet requests for assistance. We have already offered legislative and administrative expertise to be included in the Committee directory.

The initial focus in the fight against terrorism has been on Al Qaeda and the Taliban. We now see a new beginning in Afghanistan, giving us hope that this country will never again be used as a base for terrorists and their supporters. However, we cannot afford to take this for granted. An international presence in support of the political process will be needed for a long time to come, to steer Afghanistan firmly on the road to democracy and reconstruction. This point was emphasized during the recent meeting of the Afghanistan Support Group in Kabul under Norwegian chairmanship.

The work of the Committee is, of course, of a global, long-term nature and will remain relevant after the perpetrators of the 11 September attacks have been brought to justice. Norway will continue to play its part in our common fight to prevent terrorist acts from threatening peace and security as well as innocent civilians anywhere in the world. There can be no justification whatsoever for terrorism. Moreover, as the Secretary-General reminded us this morning, this fight will be most effective when conducted in parallel with enhanced and better coordinated efforts to address the other global challenges facing the United Nations, including those in the areas of social democratic developments and the protection of human rights.

Mr. Valdivieso (Colombia) *(spoke in Spanish)*: I would like to begin by thanking Ambassador Greenstock, in his capacity as Chairman of the Counter-Terrorism Committee, for his statement, with which we agree completely. As delegations have said during meetings of the Committee, we support him fully. I would also like to join Ambassador Niehaus of Costa Rica in what he said on behalf of the Rio Group.

Although he is absent at the moment, I would also like to pay tribute to Ambassador Jorge Eduardo Navarrete and express how much his professionalism, dedication and valuable and sensible opinions have been of great significance in the Council. We wish him every success in his future responsibilities.

The Counter-Terrorism Committee, created under resolution 1373 (2001), has responded in a positive and transparent way to the expectations that the Security Council had for it. As for the tasks conferred on it by the Council, I would like to concentrate today on one of them of particular importance to my delegation: the financing of terrorism.

In order to achieve the objectives of the Committee and ultimately of States, it is fundamental that we recognize the central importance of repressing and effectively hindering the flow of resources that feed this activity. It is necessary to cut the links that make it possible for economic funds and resources to fall into the hands of terrorist individuals or organizations. We know well that criminal organizations often transfer their resources, their working capital and the fruits of their criminal activity between the various countries of the world through the formal financial sector, the financial non-banking sector, the exchange houses, and also through trade in goods and services.

In this regard, we feel it is necessary to fight the laundering of money, assets and goods that enter or circulate in the economic systems of States as the result

of terrorist or related activities. This struggle must be carried out by monitoring deposits in banks and other entities of the financial sector, by sanctioning conduct aimed at concealing earnings from illicit activities, by freezing accounts, and through embargoes and the confiscation of goods. All of this requires that we follow the trail of these resources, which seek, by means of sophisticated techniques, to avoid detection by Government authorities and end up in the hands of terrorist organizations.

These modes of transfer and laundering illicit assets must be repressed if we wish to mount a successful struggle against this phenomenon. To that end, cooperation is imperative on the part of all countries that are being used in some way by the agents of money laundering to acquire, negotiate or sell goods acquired with illicit profits.

The sacred rule of the financial sector, "know your client", has been very useful and has made possible important successes in combating individuals and organizations dedicated to international terrorism. Similarly, we must insist that this formula should be applied to institutions or companies that produce or market goods and services that are used to carry out illicit activities. Producers must know their clients, be familiar with their marketing networks, know legitimate demand volume and be familiar with other aspects of monitoring exportable supply. Knowing one's client is an ideal instrument in the prevention of money and asset laundering, and would prevent the funding and carrying out of terrorist acts.

I would like to illustrate this with a simple example: after the events of 11 September, it is certain that aviation schools, at least those in the United States, will not accept anyone as a client without knowing that person's background and identity. This additional precaution now being taken by aviation schools indicates what should be done by other businesses that produce goods or provide services. Though it is complicated, this is the path we must now follow. "Know your client" thus becomes a requirement of the struggle against terrorism that will also lead to greater transparency in international trade.

We must also draw attention to diversification and the relations between criminal enterprises. The illicit traffic in weapons, drugs and psychotropic substances and terrorism are now being combined with the international contraband in goods, the diamond trade, the illegal traffic in chemical precursors, the illicit traffic in human organs, fraudulent bankruptcies and electronic fraud.

The development of effective instruments and mechanisms to control the various activities that feed terrorist organizations is one of the greatest challenges before the Committee. With the cooperation of its experts and that of other institutions or organizations, the Committee will be able to provide technical assistance to Member States based on an analysis of the reports that have been submitted. On this basis, it will be possible to identify the strengths and weaknesses of each of our countries in the fight against terrorism — a fundamental and decisive factor in achieving the objectives set by the Security Council in resolution 1373 (2001).

I would like to conclude by saying that the Security Council, in its creation of the Committee, is taking important decisions that are steering the fight against terrorism in the right direction. Security Council resolution 1373 (2001) and the measures that are being adopted by most Governments in the world to combat international terrorism constitute fundamental progress that Colombia unhesitatingly and unwaveringly supports.

In response to these great challenges we should become constantly active, without interruption. We should not wait until atrocious events such as those of 11 September occur before acting with the readiness and rigour that should always characterize our work. Let us bear in mind that terrorism never rests.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Pakistan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Ahmad (Pakistan): It is a pleasure to see you, Sir, presiding over this important meeting of the Council on a subject and problem that haunts us all. Let me start by extending our sincere felicitations to Bulgaria, Cameroon, Guinea, Mexico and Syria on assuming their well-deserved seats in the Council as newly elected members. We value our friendly relations with all of them and the important role that they are playing as significant members of the international community.

I share the sense of loss that many of our colleagues have expressed here at the sad news that

Ambassador Navarrete will be leaving us. It will be a personal loss also, because I have been working very closely with him on another important process — financing for development — and I have benefited immensely from his experience, wisdom and maturity of thought. So it will be a personal loss, and I am sure a loss to this organization. But I am sure that wherever he goes, in whatever capacity he is selected to serve his country, he will continue to serve the cause of the international community.

I also wish to place on record our thanks and appreciation to the outgoing members, Bangladesh, Jamaica, Mali, Tunisia and Ukraine, for their valuable contribution to the work of the Council.

I also take this opportunity to congratulate Sir Jeremy Greenstock on his commendable work thus far as Chairman of the Counter-Terrorism Committee. We look forward to working very closely with him in meeting this challenge to all humanity.

Today, we have come to this Chamber once again to discuss the subject of terrorism and the response of the world community to counter it. The tragic events of 11 September have no doubt brought the menace of international terrorism to centre stage of the global agenda. The steps taken by the Security Council to combat this serious threat to international peace and security, which include the adoption of resolutions 1368 (2001), 1373 (2001) and 1377 (2001), as well as the formation of the Counter-Terrorism Committee, are unprecedented in their approach and global in their scope. These welcome measures are aimed at cutting off financing and other forms of support for international terrorism everywhere.

As a matter of policy and commitment, Pakistan rejects and condemns terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. Pakistan also believes in implementing all resolutions of the Security Council without selectivity or discrimination or even technical differentiation. We are determined to respect international legality and support all that is right and all that is just. We are convinced that terror is a menace and a scourge that we need to combat at all levels — national, regional and global. We deplore violence of any sort or on any scale, especially violence engineered by dogma or theology. We have ourselves been victims of violence and terrorism.

Following the adoption of Security Council resolution 1368 (2001), Pakistan took a principled decision to offer its full and unstinting support and cooperation for the international fight against terrorism. President Musharraf, at that time, clearly pronounced our policy on this matter, and he took the people of Pakistan into confidence. He knew has the support of the people of Pakistan for the policies that he is pursuing.

Our support has gone far beyond simple pronouncements and verbal commitments. It has been translated into resolute and decisive actions. These actions include, but are not limited to, the various legal, financial, administrative and enforcement measures listed in our detailed report sent to the Counter-Terrorism Committee on 27 December, in accordance with Security Council resolution 1373 (2001).

Indeed, the steps taken by the Government of Pakistan are part of an ongoing process to combat this scourge both internally and externally. The latest of these measures were announced only last Saturday by President Pervez Musharraf in his address to the nation. The President reaffirmed that Pakistan's behaviour would always be in accordance with international norms. He said,

> "Pakistan will not allow its territory to be used for any terrorist activity anywhere in the world. Strict action will be taken against any Pakistani individual, group or organization found to be involved in terrorism within or outside the country."

Inside Pakistan an environment of "tolerance, maturity, responsibility, patience and understanding" will be promoted and "extremism, militancy, violence and fundamentalism" will be curbed.

President Musharraf also warned that the Government will not allow its writ to be challenged by anyone. In that context, wide-ranging measures, including the reform and regulation of the madrassa system, the police and the judiciary, are being carried out. Simultaneously, a crackdown has begun on groups engaged in fomenting violence and militancy. The Government intends to pursue this campaign to purge our society of obscurantism and violence.

Members will agree that the measures Pakistan is taking go well beyond the requirements of resolution 1373 (2001) and underscore our firm commitment to the fight against terrorism. There is no other country

that has put more at stake on this issue than Pakistan, and no other country has gone as far as Pakistan in the fight against terrorism.

As we fight terrorism we have to be careful that we are not misled and drawn away from the main task at hand. A crisis has been provoked in our region, for the sake of political opportunism, by confusing and obfuscating the issue and by fudging the very definition of terrorism. In fact, this crisis, imposed on us and accompanied by blatant threats of the use of force, has shifted the focus away from the real fight against terrorism. It is driven only by political ambitions for regional hegemony, not by the fight against terrorism. If those who have provoked this confrontation are really sincerely committed to the cause of fighting terrorism, then they should practice what they preach and in doing so end the terrorism that they themselves perpetrate — and perpetuate against the people under their occupation, in the guise of democracy and secularism, by keeping those people under military occupation in violation of Security Council resolutions.

Terrorism, the anathema of this new century, has to be eliminated root and branch in all its forms and manifestations. And indeed, terrorism has many forms and manifestations, which should also be included within the ambit of Security Council resolutions and within the purview of the Counter-Terrorism Committee. Here, I recall that, a short while ago, Ambassador Greenstock spoke of the scope of the Committee. Those who employ the State apparatus to trample upon the fundamental and inalienable rights of peoples are also perpetrators of terrorism, especially those who do this in blatant violation of Security Council resolutions. If, as some would say, terrorism is defined by the act, not by the description of the perpetrators, then alien occupiers and usurpers, especially those who employ ruthless measures against people under occupation, also fit that definition.

Thirteen million people is no small number — perhaps it would constitute one of the 50 countries Members of the United Nations with the largest populations. Thirteen million people in Indian-held Kashmir are struggling for freedom against foreign occupation and alien domination. The people of Kashmir continue to be deprived of their inalienable right to self-determination, which is enshrined in the resolutions of this very body, which have remained unimplemented for more than half a century. If East Timor, with a population of less than half a million, can exercise its right of self-determination, why should the 13 million people of Kashmir continue to be deprived of that fundamental inalienable right? They have been victims of State terrorism and repression of the most brutal sort. While a just cause cannot be ennobled by the killing of innocent civilians, neither can the civilized community of nations condone the use of force for the suppression of the legitimate cause of a people.

Eighty thousand Kashmiris have lost their lives in this struggle, which has sadly drawn no attention from the international community — not even a one-line press statement from this body. And those 80,000 Kashmiris are buried inside Kashmir; the mothers who are mourning over their graves are Kashmiri women; they are not women come from outside. That shows the indigenous nature of the struggle.

How long will the people of Kashmir have to wait before the international community answers their call? That is a question awaiting an answer from this body. How long will Kashmir remain a nuclear flash point and continue to be "the most dangerous place on Earth"? How long will it be before the Security Council can take the same sort of impressive action on Kashmir that it has taken in countering terrorism?

Pakistan, for its part, remains ready to resolve the Kashmir dispute through peaceful means, in accordance with the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter. When President Musharraf extended the hand of genuine friendship to Prime Minister Vajpayee at Kathmandu recently, it was no empty gesture. We have indeed backed up our words with deeds, our gestures with resolute action.

As we seek to grapple with the worst-ever challenge to humanity, our approach should not be cosmetic. Nor should it be guided by emotion or anger. Surely, the perpetrators of terrorism, whoever they are and wherever they may be, must be brought to justice. But our battle must not remain confined to retaliation and retribution alone. We must tackle the causes that give rise to forces of hatred and violence. Individual acts of madness or the behavioural insanity of groups that snuff out innocent lives are both crime and disease. Yes, crimes must be punished; the disease should be treated at its roots.

International conventions and Security Council resolutions on terrorism are indeed important and

necessary. We must implement them. Freezing assets, closing bank accounts, denying safe haven and sharing information are important steps in controlling terrorist acts. For a long-term solution, however, we must unearth the source of the problem and diagnose the disease beneath the skin. Sheer bandages will not heal wounds that are rooted in the injustice of systems and societies. Nabbing a few individuals or banning a few groups will not serve the purpose. I think we have to solve problems and settle disputes.

No matter what action we might contemplate against terrorism, that faceless enemy, which lurks in the shadows of fear and frustration, which breeds on despair and disillusionment and which is fed by poverty and ignorance, will not disappear unless we build global harmony and stability through mutual tolerance and shared prosperity.

If I may take this opportunity, as one of the Co-Chairmen of the Preparatory Committee for the High-Level International Intergovernmental Event on Financing for Development, let me say that we should all try to make that Event successful. Perhaps it could make a significant contribution towards attaining that goal.

This phenomenon will continue to haunt us if the roots of terrorism, which lie in the inequality of societies, in the exploitation of the downtrodden, in the denial of fundamental rights and in a sense of injustice, are not addressed. It would be too simplistic merely to focus on the symptoms or their ugly manifestations. Terrorism has now emerged as a different challenge which has to be dealt with in a different, but resolute and measured, manner.

Finally, we must admit that these are unusual and difficult times demanding exceptional responses. As we confront the universal evil of terrorism in a determined manner, we cannot be oblivious of the need to address the source of this problem at its roots. The Security Council must rise above power politics and political expediency and respond to international crises and conflicts in an objective manner. When I say crises and conflicts, I think we must address long-standing disputes and resolve them. It is a time for courageous decisions, for correcting historical wrongs and redressing endemic injustices. Our universal obligation to fight terrorism must not deflect us from the need for a just, lasting and honourable settlement of the Kashmir issue and other similar issues, which will restore peace and stability not only to our region but also to the world at large. It is time for the Security Council to restore its credibility and legitimacy and work as a true instrument of peace and security as mandated by the Charter of the United Nations.

The President: I thank the representative of Pakistan for his kind words addressed to me.

I still have a number of speakers remaining on my list. In view of the lateness of the hour, with the concurrence of the members of the Council, I intend to suspend the meeting now.

The meeting was suspended at 1.35 p.m.